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THE UKRAINE

REPRINT OF

A LECTURE DELIVERED ON UKRAINIAN HISTORY AND PRESENT-DAY POLITICAL PROBLEMS

BY

BEDWIN SANDS

LONDON
FRANCIS GRIFFITHS
34, MAIDEN LANE, STRAND, W.C.
1914

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SECOND IMPRESSION

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FOREWORD

In giving wider publicity to this attempt at the study of an important political problem of international politics, the author is aware that it will displease many, and probably fail to satisfy even the leaders of the Ukrainian cause. He has given the question careful study, and endeavoured to remain impartial. This is his first excuse. The second is the utter lack of information in the English language on the history of a nation of 35,000,000 souls, many of whom are British subjects.

B. S.

Barnes, London.

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INTRODUCTION

LECTURING is no doubt a labour of love, as any of the gentlemen who tour the country in order to initiate us into the sweetness of one or another rare and refreshing fruit culled from the political trees would tell us. But in no case could lecturing be more of a labour of love, unless it be a labour of madness, than when the subject of the lecture is one that is almost unknown—one upon which the minds of those who are but slightly acquainted with it are prejudiced, a subject that is unpleasant to not a few; in no case could the lecture be more of a labour of love than when the object of the lecturer is openly stated to be the upsetting of the faith of his audience in one or another of the set formulæ of the day.

To plunge into the subject with which I am going to try to make you acquainted to-night, let me tell you that the Ukrainian problems—we shall see presently what they are—are foremost in the Chancelleries of more than two nations. Not only the Russian, not only the Austro-Hungarian, but other Governments as well, are keenly watching the events which in the last few years have taken to proceeding at a pace that can well alarm the Petersburg authorities. Ladies and gentlemen, should the movement that is now on foot—the movement by which a nation is becoming alive to its rights—should that movement succeed in obtaining the attention of England and the whole civilized world—and I trust it will—the ghost of Pan-Slavist expansion, the ghost of the ambitious Muscovite Nationalism, will be removed for ever from the nightmares of our English political leaders. German expansion is much less probable than Russian expansion, as we all know. A day may

come when we shall all recognize that, failing the British, German expansion may mean salvation to European civilization, as much as Russian expansion would endanger it. If you will kindly look at the map of the world, you can realize that it will be the end of Russia—not, indeed, by any means as a great Power, but as a European danger—if the Ukraine ever secedes from the Empire. And if the Ukraine gets anything, it will be full independence, as a rich and worthy nation. Think of the Black Sea and the key it holds. It matters comparatively little to her if Russia loses Poland, and even Finland. But without the Ukraine, Russia becomes an Asiatic Power. I submit to you that it is her place, the only one she is fit to hold. It is not that I wish to destroy your inborn sympathy for the wretched Russian peasant. Far from me the thought. When I speak of Russia, I mean only that section of the leaders of her unreliable, ever-changing policy, which is called here the Russian Nationalist party—wrongly called, for if the destinies of Russia were in their hands, then, indeed, God help the Russian nation, and England and the world !

But what is the Ukraine ? At the risk of seeming to delude you with " Irish " answers, I shall say that the Ukraine is a very vast, very fertile, and very beautiful country that does not exist. It is a geographical expression. Let me correct my statement. After all, politically and ethnologically, the Ukraine does exist; but the name does not appear upon any modern English map. It is not recognized by diplomats; it was banned by Russians and Austrians alike until the end of 1912, when the aged Emperor of Austria officially recognized it. But, ladies and gentlemen, the word does exist, buried in the hearts of nearly 36,000,000 people—and what is more alive than the thoughts of 36,000,000 people ?

The Ukraine, once the largest kingdom in Europe, has been divided between her enemies. Russia holds the larger part, with some 28,000,000 Ukrainians, extending over an area of 850,000 square kilometres, and the Russian Nationalists call that country *Malorussia*, or *Little Russia*, and the people *Little Russians*, when they do not call them by worse names. Austria-

Hungary holds a much smaller number—some 3,500,000 in Galicia, 500,000 in Bukovina, and 700,000 in the Sub-Carpathian districts of Hungary. About 200,000 in Canada, as many again in U.S.A., and 100,000 in South America, are pros-

EUROPE WITH AND WITHOUT THE UKRAINE.

pering, many of them making money for the cause of their country's independence. Geographically speaking, as you can see by the above map, the Ukraine is a unit, however, and that is the point that matters.

It is inhabited by a very gifted people, who still supply the

principal intellectual forces of the Russian Empire. Such Ukrainian names as "Gogol," "Tchaikovsky," "Shevchenko," "Kostomarov," "Dragomirov," "Kondratenko," "Korolenko," "Kovalensky," and "Hrushevsky," are certainly familiar to most of you. Moreover, the Ukraine is the richest part of Russia, and its political and strategical situation is unequalled, since it holds, as I said, the key to the Black Sea, and its land frontiers enable it to command an important part of Central Europe.

The purely Ukrainian Governments of Russia are:

1. "The Ukraine of the Right Bank" (of the Dnieper), Podolia, Volhynia, Kiev, and Kholm.
2. "The Ukraine of the Left Bank" (of the Dnieper), Tchernihov, Poltava, Kharkov, south-west Khursk, and Voronezh, and the region of the Don Cossacks, to the Sea of Azov.
3. On both sides of the Dnieper lies the Steppe Ukraine, comprising Katerynoslav, Kherson, and the eastern parts of Bessarabia and Tauris.
4. North Caucasus, adjacent to the region of the Don Cossacks, comprising Kuban and the eastern parts of the Stavropolskoi and Therska Governments.

In all these districts Ukrainians form from 76 to 99 per cent. of the total population, the rest being Jews, Poles, and, lastly, Russians.

In the Provinces of Saratof, Samara, etc., in the European as well as Asiatic Russia, there are also separate settlements of recent emigrants who live in compact villages or groups of villages. In Siberia there are miles of Ukrainian villages and no less than 2,000,000 Ukrainians. There are also large settlements of Ukrainians in Canada, as I said, where they number something like 200,000; and in U.S.A., Brazil, and the Argentine.

"South Russians," "Little Russians," "Galicians," "Ruthenes," or "Ruthenians," are only different names for the same Ukrainian nationality which belongs to the Slav races. It is true that the first historic Kings of the Ukraine were Scandinavians,

but their subjects certainly belonged to the Slav race much more than the Russians or Muscovites, who, according to all authorities, are a mixed *Mongolo-Finno-Slav* race, composed of conquering Slavs and conquered Finns, former inhabitants of Muscovy or Russia proper.

There are three main ethnographical branches of the Ukrainian nation differing slightly in some details of dialect, peasant dress, etc. There is, however, so little difference that the Ukrainian is almost unique in its homogeneity as to the language and type.

Polisians are those of the Ukrainians who inhabit the forest area of Volhynia and Province of Kiev (Po-*Lis*-ians : *Lis* meaning forest, and Po-lis-ian a man living in the forest).

Ukrainians proper are those of the immediate banks of the Dnieper.

The *Podolo-Galicians* are the Ukrainians of Podolia, Volhynia in Russia, and Galicia in Austria.

In Galicia itself Ukrainians can be divided into three groups, owing to slight peculiarities due to different climatic conditions —Boykee, Lemky, Hutzuls.

When Prince Waldemar of Denmark was " guest-prisoner " of Mikhael Theodore, the first of the Romanoffs, he had occasion to speak to the few Europeans whose misfortune it was to visit the Court of Russia, and they told him that the Russian nobility boasted of direct descent from the Greeks. This, of course, is ridiculous. The Russians—that is, the Great Russians, the Muscovites—are partly Finns, partly Mongols, and partly Slavs, and if one of the two nations can claim more ancient origin, that race is that one which inhabits the Ukraine. In the twelfth century the Ukrainian Princes possessed still a good deal of power in Europe, and at that time the Ukraine, extending over Middle and South Russia, East Galicia, down to the lower course of the Danube, was the *largest of all European kingdoms*, and had a flourishing trade.

I said that the Ukrainians offered the purest type of Slavs. What are the Slavs ?

I

THE PLACE OF THE UKRAINIANS AMONG THE SLAV RACES

The Ukrainians belong to one of the Slav races, which are, in numerical order:

Muscovites (or Great Russians).
Ukrainians (Ruthenians and often Malorussians).
Poles.
White Russians.
Serbo-Croats.
Czecks (or Bohemians) and Slovacks.
Bulgars.
Slovens.
Lusacians.

The Ukrainians are distinguished by a very pronounced brachycephaly, by a high stature, and a more or less dark complexion. They belong to the north-eastern group of the Slavs, which comprises also the Great Russians and the White Russians ; while the south-western group comprises Poles, Czecks, Slovens, Serbo-Croats, and Bulgars.

Great differences exist, however, between pure Ukrainians and Muscovites from every point of view, especially from the linguistic, as was proved by the works of Maximovich, Abel Hovelacque, Bodiansky, Lavrovsky, Potebnia, Jitetskyj, Miklosich, Jagic, Velytchko, Schleicher, by the official report of the Russian "Académie des Sciences," and by all conscientious writers on Russia who have studied the question with an unbiassed mind.

The belief in one supreme God dominated the religion of

the early Slavs, but that notion was gradually obliterated. Like the Greeks, the Romans and the early Saxons, they worshipped Nature in all her manifestations. They had among their gods Perun, the Thunder-God; Svarog, the God of Light and of the Sky; Dajdbog, the Sun-God; Liada, the God of War;* Volos, protector of cattle and sheep, the Pan-Apollo of the Slavs; Stribog, God of the Winds; Morena, Goddess of Death and Frost; Siva, Goddess of Universal Life. They had also Don, Dnieper,† and Danube, who were three divinized rivers; the Vodiany, the Spirit of the Waters; the Lieshii, Spirit of the Woods; the Domovoï, genius of the Home; and the Russalkas, or Naiads. Besides these there were many local divinities, and every family had its *Dii Lariæ*. Certain birds, like the sparrow-hawk and the owl, had sacred characters.

Most of the festivities were connected with natural phenomena. On the Feast of Spring, for instance, young men and maidens made a straw figure representing Morena, the Goddess of Death and Winter, and threw it into the water to the accompaniment of songs. I should not like to say that the Ukrainians have entirely forgotten the practices and beliefs of their ancestors. In far-away villages you would find them half pagans, although deeply religious all the same. Their education being exceedingly slight, they have a huge native wealth of imagination, and express it in beliefs, and what we call superstitions, which are mixed, but never overlapping. The traditions, the tales and legends, the folk-songs, remain impregnated with polytheistic sentiments, in very much the same way as the superstitious Italian, or even the Irish, with whom they have many things in common. But the alleged Celtic parentage of the Slavs is of too controversial a nature for me to venture upon that ground.

As we have seen, there were two groups of Slavs, the North-Eastern Slavs comprising Ukrainians, White Russians, and Muscovites. Most authorities on the Ukrainian, Russian, and Slavonic history agree that the Ukrainians, Russians, and White

* The same as Lud, who gave his name to Ludgate Hill.

† The Dnieper is the great river of the Ukraine.

Russians formed three different races, even at the time when all the Slav races led still a nomad life, and occupied what is called *the common Slav forefatherland.* Yet all Slavs were at first probably somewhat alike, but their racial distinctions were deepened when some of them fell under the influence of Byzantium and

UKRAINIAN ALPHABET

PRINTED CHARACTERS.		WRITTEN CHARACTERS		ENGLISH EQUIVALENT	PRINTED CHARACTERS.		WRITTEN CHARACTERS.		ENGLISH EQUIVALENT
А	а	𝒜	𝒶	ă	М	м	𝓜	𝓂	m
Б	б	𝓑	𝒷	b	Н	н	𝓝	𝓃	n
В	в	𝒱	𝓋	v	О	о	𝒪	𝑜	o
Г	г	𝒯	𝓇	h	П	п	𝒫	𝓅	p
Ґ	ґ	𝒢	𝓰	g	Р	р	𝒫	𝓅	r
Д	д	𝒟	𝒹	d	С	с	𝒞	𝒸	s
Е	е	8	𝑒	e	Т	т	𝒯	𝓉 (t)	t
Є	є	𝜀	𝜀	y	У	у	𝒴	𝓎	u
Ж	ж	𝒥𝒞	𝓏𝒸	je	Ф	ф	𝒻𝑜	𝒻𝑜	f
З	з	𝒵	𝓏	z	Х	х	𝒳	𝓍	kh (or ch)
И	и	𝒰	𝓊	ŭ	Ц	ц	𝒰	𝓊	tz
Й	й	𝒰̆	𝓊̆	ŭ	Ч	ч	𝒸	𝒸	ch
І	і	𝐼	𝒾	i	Ш	ш	𝒰𝒰	𝓊𝓊	sh (or sz)
Ї	ї	𝐼	𝒾	yee	Щ	щ	𝒰𝒻	𝓊𝓊 (𝓊𝓏)	shch
К	к	𝒦	𝓀	k	Ю	ю	𝒥𝑜	𝓇𝑜	yu
Л	л	𝓛	𝓁	l	Я	я	𝒜	𝒶 (𝓏)	ya

Ъ ъ, ь a very short ŭ, used as a softening consonant

Characters peculiar to Ukrainian and not used in Russian

Ґґ, Єє. Її.

Characters peculiar to Russian and not used in Ukrainian

Ъъ, Ыы, Ѳѳ, Vv, Ѣѣ, Ээ

joined the Greek Church, while the others joined the Roman Church, and fell under the influence of Occidental civilization.

Like all barbarians, the early Slavs were unable to resist the attraction of change and movement. Thus the Ukrainians, who were concentrated at first in the Carpathians, then in the

Kiev country, started to colonize in the north and the west. Mixed with the Finn, the Mongol, and the Muscovite element, some of them formed the nation of the Muscovites or Great Russians. Western civilization gradually penetrated into first Poland and the Ukraine, later White Russia, and then Muscovy. On the other hand, when the Eastern schism was consummated, the Cyrillic characters of the alphabet were taken up by the Slavs in succession. Servia and Bulgaria, being nearer Byzantium, took them first; the Ukraine adopted them in the tenth century, and Muscovy in the twelfth.

II

THE UKRAINIAN NATION

The Ukrainian nation, between the Carpathians and the Caucasus, or between the San, the Pripet, and the Dnieper, was—according to Professor Lubor Niederle, a Czeck, one of the greatest authorities on Slav questions—formed by the gradual amalgamation of the ancient Polians, Drevlians, Volhynians, Duliebs, Tivertsians, Ulitchs, Sieverians, and remnants of the Croats and Servians of the Carpathians region. Professor Niederle traces the Muscovites to the Novgorodians, Viatitchs, and Krivitchs.

The Ukrainians, according to the same authority, *are, of all the Slavs, those who retain most purely the characteristics of the race, especially from the point of view of the language.*

Much before the ninth century Slav populations were settled in the country about Kiev, where they extended gradually and federated. According to the Nestor Chronicle, they were there already in the seventh century. They adopted for themselves the name of "Rusj," a word derived, according to some authorities—but we shall come back to that point—from "Ruotsi," a Finnish name for Swedes. It is certainly a Scandinavian term, and it was applied to the Slavs of Kiev, ruled over by Scandinavian Kings. It was probably derived from the words "roder" and "rods-men," or seafarers. The country inhabited by those Slavs did not include Great Russia or Muscovy. In the Latin works of the day they were called often Rusci, Russij, and *Rutheni.** *They formed an independent State.*

* See the article on Ruthenians in the "Catholic Encyclopædia," New York, 1912.

A little later the territories east and north of the Kiev kingdom were populated by Finns, with whom were mixed in a large proportion other Slavs, coming from the north-west, related racially to the Rusj, but markedly different from them, as they are to-day. They formed a new nation, from which the Muscovites are derived.

They looked upon the Rusj as foreigners; their country later was called Moschkovia, or Moscavia. The people called themselves Moskovsky.

During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the Kiev region was much devastated, and lost many of her Ukrainian inhabitants. Later it was repopulated by people of the same race from Eastern Galicia and Volhynia.

When the Ukrainian Rusj fell into decadence, following troubles caused by dynastic events, Muscovy put in a claim to their country, much richer than their own. Meanwhile the name of Ukraine—Oukraïna—became prevalent in the Kiev country, while the name of Rusj was almost abandoned. The Muscovites then took the name of Rossia. But the ethnographic differences became wider every day.

The Muscovites were constituted into a centralized monarchy, the Ukrainians tending, on the contrary, to self-government and a democratic régime. While the Muscovites neglected education, the Ukrainians had a high culture, and schools flourished everywhere in their land, to an extent altogether larger than to-day under Muscovite rule.

So much for a brief survey of the question of race origin. Now let us come to the present name, or names, of that nameless nation. In Russia the Ukrainians are called Little Russians; in Austria, in Canada, and U.S.A., and abroad generally, they are usually called " Ruthenians," an old word derived from the Latin, and meaning Ukrainian Rusj. When you hear speak of Ruthenians, let it be understood that people are referring only to those Ukrainians who inhabit the provinces of Galicia and Bukovina in Austria and to those of Hungary.

The Press of all countries is gradually waking up to the importance of the Ukrainian question. In spite of *rapproche-*

ments and alleged community of interests and favourable atmospheres, one of the determining factors of Russia's policy towards Austria-Hungary is the state of the Ukraine. The one thorn in the side of ambitious Russian Imperialists is the ever-threatening war with the dual monarchy. The dread of such an event—an event which to them would be a calamity, a disaster—was as much as anything else at the back of the minds of the Russian Government when they tried to conciliate both Germany and Italy, thus seeking to evade the consequences of the Triple Alliance, or when they knouted in the streets of Petersburg the crowds that gathered to manifest in favour of Bulgaria. It is a curious fact that, whilst no one in Austria wants to attack Russia, Russian Nationalists wish to fight Austria; but their Government is afraid of the latter's allies as much as of the Russian Nationalists themselves, and tries, therefore, to secure the services of England and France. At an interview between the Czar and the Kaiser in 1912 the Ukrainian question was one of the subjects of discussion. In 1913 the Austrian Emperor's letter to the Czar dealt also with it. All the most important Austrian reviews are publishing long articles dealing with the Ukrainian problem in all its most salient aspects; and from that, as well as from other indications, we can safely deduce that the situation has become serious. There are in Russia and Austria at the present day some 35,000,000 Ukrainians, whose leaders are eagerly watching the vicissitudes of international relations, in the hope that some opportunity will be afforded them to obtain either complete independence, or at least the restoration of the rights of which they have been deprived. It is necessary that the story of their struggle should be known in England; for it is to England that the Ukrainians will turn for sympathy when the need arises, as every nation struggling for its liberty ever does.

Situated as it is between Austria and Russia, the peculiar position of the Ukraine lends a special significance to the international problems of the day. Most of her sons are, of course, Russian subjects, and some—very few—of them have succeeded in retaining their religious faith—that of *Catholic Uniats*, as

BOHDAN CHMIEL NICKY *Exercitus*
S. R. M^tis Zaporohsc- ensis Præfectus
Cornr. Waumans sculp. *Ioan. Meysens exc. Antverpiæ*

opposed to the so-called Orthodox Russian religion. But it can be truly said that the Ukrainians of Russia are practically reconciled to the principle of an Orthodox Church, with this qualification: that they desire to have an autonomous Church, independent of St. Petersburg, like other Orthodox nations. In Galicia, however, they are all Uniats.

But the present Ukrainian upheaval is more than a religious movement. It is of more vital moment than any of those which have preceded it, for the simple reason that there is to-day more than one motive force at work. It is a movement at once religious, political, economic, literary, moral, and temperamental; and the Ukrainians are awaiting their opportunity with an eagerness to which certain people "in high places" can no longer close their eyes. Apart from the fact that it would take place on their own soil, a war between Russia and Austria would mean a great deal to the Ukrainians. Even before the Balkan difficulties it was quite a common thing to find the Russian Nationalist Press publishing threats against Austria, and warning her that if she did not take drastic steps to quell the Ukrainian movement in Galicia, the Czar's Government would feel themselves obliged to declare war on her. The threatened Ukrainian rebellion, declares the Russian Press, is the most dangerous of all the territorial upheavals with which Russia has been confronted in the whole course of her history; and if the movement continues to spread as at present, it will tend to undermine the chief source of Russia's strength. These fears, however, have found expression too late. It is an indubitable fact that the Ukrainian problem has passed out of the hands both of the Russian and Austrian Governments, and that Russia is powerless to put down the movement of the so-called rebels, ever increasing in number, who are longing for the emancipation of their country.

Muscovites and Ukrainians will never be one race, and it is the earnest prayer of the Ukrainian that the two peoples will soon belong to two separate kingdoms. It is not more than forty or fifty years since open hostilities were declared between Ukrainians and Muscovites, though it is true that ever since 1654 the Slavs of Southern Russia have felt that differences too

profound existed between themselves and the Great Russians or Muscovites to admit of their being absorbed into the latter race, and latent hostility existed. It may also be true, as the Russians assert, that the line of cleavage would not have assumed its present depth but for the wider freedom granted some years ago to all classes and races within the Russian Empire, and the fact that the literary, scientific, and anthropological circles have greatly contributed to the creation of a strong Ukrainian movement; but such statements are scarcely calculated to justify increased oppression on the part of an autocratic Government. After the lapse of two centuries, the movement for the revival of the Ukrainian race, like many another national movement in the history of civilization, received fresh impetus from a patriotic literature which fired the people with renewed enthusiasm for their "cause"; and it was only step by step that the political and economic aspects of the question came under consideration.

Of the many signs of the patriotic revival in the Ukraine, perhaps none is more significant than the continued activity of certain prominent Russian statesmen of pronounced autocratic and Pan-Slavonic tendencies.

Some of you, ladies and gentlemen, may have read at intervals since March 10, 1912, long letters in *The Times* and other papers from the pen of Count Vladimir Bobrinsky and of one of his partisans in this country, a Mr. Birkbeck, under the heading, "Religious Persecution in Galicia." I fully realize, of course, that letters from a member of the Parliament of a friendly country must be allotted space in *The Times*, and no one can blame that once impartial, that still now reputed impartial, organ if there was scarcely a word of truth in these particular epistles. Although the importance of a letter to *The Times can* be overestimated, yet the special publicity thus gained gives a certain *cachet* to a cause, making it impossible to prove mendacious statements calculated to do harm by reason of the prominence and authority with which in this manner they become invested. Some years ago Count Vladimir Bobrinsky devoted himself to the Ukrainian question, just as any other politician worth his salt makes it his business to specialize in

one field or another. He belongs to that party in Russia who, rightly enough from their point of view, recognize that a strong movement is afoot, both among the "Little Russians" and the "Ruthenians"—that is, the Ukrainians of Russia and Austria—once more to concentrate their energies upon obtaining their full rights as a separate nation. The primary object of his campaign is a wholly legitimate one, and the policy he pursues is, I must frankly admit, a policy that may appeal strongly to an ambitious man. The means employed by Count Bobrinsky for the furtherance of his ends are, however, less legitimate. With the aid of official and private funds obtained in Russia, he inaugurated a campaign in Austria for the conversion of the Uniats—that is, of most Ukrainians of Galicia—to the Russian official religion; just as some very foolish Christians in this country are wasting a large amount of private money in a vain attempt to convert the Jews. Such conversions, when they are effected, are costly, and, to say the least, seldom sincere. A good Jew seldom makes a good Christian; a bad Jew, never. I am afraid that Count Bobrinsky never obtained a genuine and disinterested conversion, or, if he did, they were very few in number; and the proselytizing agents paid for them much more dearly than was either legitimate or desirable. The only conclusion I can draw is that the noble Count and the men behind him were actuated by a political motive infinitely more potent than their religious zeal! We must therefore be very cautious in accepting their statements concerning religious persecution in Galicia. I know that these statements have since been supported by an Englishman who described himself as a journalist, and went to Galicia in 1912. An article on his "voyage and discoveries" appeared in *The Spectator* of December 28 of last year. He has since published a penny pamphlet on the subject.* The wild statements he made con-

* "Religious Persecution in Galicia," by W. J. Birkbeck, F.S.A. If only to show him my opinion of this work of art, I am giving it in Russian, Ukrainian, and Polish. It may yet convince him of the difference of the three languages:

"Gospodin Birkbeck ne snaet o tchem on govorit."

"Pan Birkbeck ne rozumie sprovy, shcho pro nei balakae."

"Pan Birkbeck nie rozumie rzeczy o ktòrej on mòwi."

cerning the Uniats and the Ukrainian language prevented any sober-minded person from taking seriously his remarks on the religious question. The Austrian Government does *not* endeavour to preserve the Uniats — that is, some of the Ukrainians of the Dual Monarchy—in the faith of their own choice, as against the propaganda of Count Bobrinsky and his friends. From what I know of the Austrian attitude towards the "Ruthenians," I cannot but deduce that Count Bobrinsky's allegations are but malicious falsehood or intemperance of language.

III

A REVIEW OF UKRAINIAN HISTORY

But a return to the origins of the Ukraine and a short history of the movement may be of some interest at this point. Before Russia was Russia, so to speak, when the little kingdom of Muscovy stood alone in the midst of powerful neighbours, there was at first a kingdom, then an independent State, called Ukraine. Its kernel was the kingdom of Kiev, the origin of which, says Professor Hrushevsky in his "History of the Ukrainian People,"* is one of the most difficult problems in the history of the world. The oldest Kiev chronicle, the "Povisty Vremennych Lit," cannot be counted on as accurate when it asserts that the kingdom was founded in the middle of the ninth century. Its origin is of much earlier date. The notion which I mentioned some time ago, that the name Rusj was brought from the North by Scandinavian invaders, is, according to Hrushevsky, quite wrong—the name was known before the time of these invasions. Northern Sagas speak of Rusj as a foreign land. The kingdom of Kiev is called "realm of Rusj" in native and foreign sources, as the "Povisty," the Arabic writers of the ninth and tenth centuries, and the Byzantine writers. "Rusj" was first used especially for the country of the Poliani tribe, which occupied the immediate environs of Kiev, being bounded by the Dnieper and its tributaries, the Irpen and the Ros, and formed the nucleus of the Ukrainian people, and the name gradually spread over the whole country. Be that as it may, the capital of the Ukraine, Kiev, early became the most important town of the kingdom. The period of Slavonic colonization in the sixth and seventh

* Chapter v., p. 388, of the German translation.

centuries was followed by quieter times and the beginnings of trade. The so-called decimal organization of troops would probably have started not later than the eighth century, for Kiev, being a centre of commerce, would have needed to organize an army and a strong central power for the protection of trade. The people of Kiev were accustomed to make expeditions for levying tribute, and thus made new commercial roads.

From the first part of the ninth century the military power of the kingdom was augmented by a fighting contingent of the wandering Scandinavian tribes, the Varangians. Without keeping altogether to the "Povisty" account of the Varangian origin of the Kiev State—that is, the Ukraine—great importance, says Professor Hrushevsky,* may nevertheless be attached to the part played by these troops in the building-up process of the kingdom during the ninth and tenth centuries. Varangians were often chosen as Stadthalters of subject provinces, and Varangian troops were employed down to the time of King Yaroslav (d. 1054). At this time the Varangians went farther south, and entered the service of the Byzantine Emperors. Until then the Byzantine people only knew of the Varangians, who, being in the service of Rusj or Scandinavian Princes, called themselves Rusj, which may account for the idea that the Rusj themselves were Normans.† By the end of the tenth century the monarchs of Kiev were fairly absolute, partly owing to the help of their Varangian troops. As early as the ninth century we hear of treaties with Byzantium. The Ukrainians were mentioned in Byzantium documents, even as early as the fourth century, under the name of Antes.

The kingdom reached the zenith of its prosperity under Vladimir the Great, who succeeded to the throne in or about 980. This King brought the lands belonging to his realm into closer connection with Kiev by giving them as governors his own sons instead of other princes. The countries governed

* *Op. cit.*, p. 408.

† The Swedish archæologist, Professor Thure Arne, has discovered many traces of the great Swedish and Norman migration towards the Ukraine in the ninth and tenth centuries.

by his sons occupied all the territory of present-day Ukraine as well as the outlying provinces of Novgorod,* Pskov, Polozk, and Smolensk. The Ukraine of those days comprised the provinces of Vladimir—*i.e.*, Volhynia and the Carpathian country and boundaries of Poland—Tmutorokañ (the Don region, Crimea, and parts of Caucasus), and Rostov, the middle region of the Dnieper being in Vladimir's own immediate government.

The most important feature of Vladimir's reign was his conversion to Christianity in the year 988. The Byzantine Emperor, Basil II., being besieged by Phocas, who had declared himself Emperor, asked Vladimir for his help, which the latter promised on condition of the Emperor giving him his sister to wife. Basil agreed to this, on the condition that Vladimir embraced the Christian faith, but presently showed reluctance to marry his sister to a barbarian; whereupon Vladimir captured Chersonesos, after which the Emperor had to acknowledge him to be civilized indeed. Vladimir married the Princess, and received the rite of baptism. Though his conversion was primarily due to political motives, there seems no reason to doubt that he was a sincere convert. It is true that he was rumoured to have 800 wives; but so had Solomon. *Autres temps autres mœurs.*

Christianity was not unknown in the Ukraine of the period. After an expedition sent from Byzantium in 860, a large number of Rusj were baptized, and Olha, wife of Ihor, became a Christian, and vainly tried to persuade her son Sviatoslav, the father of Vladimir, to follow her example. Vladimir forced all the inhabitants of Kiev† to be baptized at the time of his own conversion, but the religion progressed more slowly in other parts of his kingdom. Besides Christianity, Vladimir gave to his country a culture and education superior to anything it had previously enjoyed; but his greatest work was the welding

* To this day there is a slight dialectic analogy between the Ukrainians and the Novgorodians. Some historians claim that Novgorod was originally populated by Ukrainian colonies.

† The main street of Kiev is still called "Chrestchatyk," or "the brook of Christening." A column commemorates the place where the King ordered his subjects to the water.

together of his kingdom above mentioned. He died in 1015, lamented by all his people, and having well earned the title of "Great" and canonization. His descendants continued to rule the kingdom, among the most prosperous reigns being that of Yaroslav and Vladimir Monomachus (reigned 1113-1125), who married Gytha, daughter of Harold II., Saxon King of England, who was killed at the Battle of Senlac in 1066.

The Ukraine was giving every promise of being a strong and prosperous kingdom. Unfortunately, Tartar nomadic tribes

Map of the Ukraine.

were at that time pouring into Europe from the plains of Asia, disturbing the Ukrainian settlements in the southern part of the Kiev kingdom. The incursions at first were easily repulsed,* but the Tartars seemed to be as numerous as ants, and forced their way gradually through the steppes of the Ukraine.

* There is preserved in the Ukrainian literature a very fine poem of the twelfth century, which sings the march of the men of Prince Ihor against the incursions of the invaders.

In the thirteenth century that part of the Ukraine which was nearer Kiev was devastated by the Tartars, and Kiev was burnt to ashes. Many inhabitants were carried away as captives, many emigrated towards the north-west of the Ukraine, and what is now known as Galicia. Many, again, took refuge in the forests. The Ukraine was much weakened after those invasions, while the neighbouring kingdom of Lithuania, protected by the Ukraine against the Tartars, grew stronger. So much so that Lithuania began to interfere in the Ukrainian internal affairs. After a time, the Ukraine found itself under the domination of Lithuania. But it benefited to a certain extent. The people returned from the western parts of the Ukraine, resumed their pastoral life, and kept the Tartars at bay. The Lithuanian Princes were the first to make use of the Ukrainian horsemen known as Cossacks (a name which is now applied in other directions). The Cossacks were husbandmen and warriors; they existed really from the first days of the Tartar invasion. In fact, it can truly be said that the real, true-hearted Cossack was a distinctly Ukrainian product. The Cossacks of old would have been ashamed of their own name had they known that it would be given to the half-savage regiments that do to-day the dirty work of the Muscovite police.

The Cossacks were organized somewhat on the lines of the chivalry of Western Europe. Their precepts were obedience, piety, chastity, and equality. The Assembly was the only authority they recognized. The Hetman (Headman) was elected by, and was accountable to, the Assembly for his actions. If he offended, he was incontinently deprived of office.

Thus we find that, while the Muscovites lived under an absolute monarchy, while the Poles were ruled by a haughty and exclusive aristocracy, in the Ukraine all were free under the Lithuanian Kings, and republican institutions were gradually taking root. Many people would leave the surrounding countries and come to settle in the Ukraine, just as in England to-day we get refugees from all parts of Europe. Such names preserved in the Ukraine as O'Brien, O'Rourke, and others, even tend to prove that people came from much farther to

settle in the happy land. It has been said that the "Ukrainian race seemed qualified to put into practice the idea of universal equality and freedom. The science of war was there brought to high perfection. At the same time a literature was produced which glorified the Cossack life in attractive ballads and tales. All the Slavonic world might well be proud of this free State."*

It is on the Poles that lies the stigma of wrecking this promising organization, since it is under Poland that the Ukraine was at that time. The whole of the Ukraine, or, rather, all that was left of it after the Tartar incursions, was easily conquered by Lithuania, and the Principalities of Kiev, part of Podolia, and Volhynia, became part of the Lithuanian kingdom. Being, however, of higher culture than the latter, the conquered provinces gave their language and their laws to the conquerors. When the male line died in Poland, and Lithuania became united to Poland in 1569, the whole of the Ukraine itself formed a part of the Polish kingdom, but still preserved its autonomy. The aristocracy of Poland viewed with a jealous eye the democracy of the Ukraine, and resolved to prevent its influence from reaching their country. It was only the severest measures that could prevent the Polish farmers and peasants from quitting their farms, where any prosperity they enjoyed was drained from them by the Shlakhta (or nobles), and flocking in crowds to the Ukraine.

Then began constant warfare between the Poles and the Ukraine Cossacks. King Stefan Batory, a Polish King, but a Hungarian by birth, who reigned from 1576 to 1586, had practically recognized the complete autonomy of the Ukraine; but his successors did not follow his policy. In 1592 the Cossacks, under Kosinski, were defeated; but in 1612, under the Hetman Konashevich Sahaidachnyi, the Cossacks became again very powerful. They destroyed Sinope, pillaged Trebizond, and burnt the Turkish fleet, sailing across the Black Sea in small boats that would cause the Southend mariner to shudder.

Hetman Konashevich has been described as one of the

* See "Harmsworth History of the World," vol. v., p. 3264.

greatest Slavs in history, and so he was. He protected the Church, founded schools, and was a successful warrior against the infidels. After his death the Poles again succeeded in tyrannizing over the Ukraine, and "murders, outrages, and confiscation of property, were the order of the day. The Polish armies encamped in the Ukraine, and mercilessly wasted the country. In a camp which had surrendered unconditionally every single person was massacred. Among the Polish magnates who took the greatest share in the enslavement of the Ukraine, Yarema-Wishnioviecki distinguished himself by his barbarity; he burnt, beheaded, impaled, or blinded, all the Cossacks who fell into his hands."* "Let them feel they are dying," were his orders.

The Cossacks fought heroically for their freedom, and in the course of a continuous struggle against the Poles, reached the zenith of their glory, under their leader, Bogdan Chmielnitzky, a great figure in the history of the Ukraine; but in 1654 they were forced to come to the conclusion that they could not exist as an entirely independent nation,† but must seek the help of one of their neighbours against the others. The democratic principle did the rest. In the year 1654, harassed by Poles, Turks, and Tartars, simultaneously, the Ukrainian National Council, or Rada,‡ decided on Muscovy, under the advice of Hetman Chmielnitzky.

The Ukraine of the seventeenth century was a republic, with a Hetman—Headman—as its elected President. Most of the other high officials of the State—"General Secretary," "General Treasurer," "General Judge," etc.—were also elected by the Rada, and formed the Government with the Hetman. This elected body of high State officials, or, as it was called, "General Starshina," appointed all the other high functionaries. The Rada usually was called together by the Hetman, and it met in different parts of the country. It consisted of the

* "Harmsworth History of the World," p. 3269.

† Vicomte E. M. de Vogüé, "Trois Drames de l'Histoire de Russie, Mazeppa," p. 204.

‡ *Rada.* Compare with German *Rath* and Dutch *Raad.*

representatives of all classes of the community, and it criticized freely the policy of the Hetman. In the interval of two successive Radas the Hetman ruled the country by a series of decrees, or *universalia*. When any section of the Ukrainian community was dissatisfied with the person or the policy of the Hetman, they were entitled to call together a Rada, which in these cases was called Black Rada. If such Black Rada happened to be representative enough, and it met with the approval of the majority, the Hetman might have found himself compelled to resign. The weakness of that too popular and democratic Government caused the ruin of the Ukraine, just as the impossible " Veto " system caused the fall of Poland. Some very interesting light is thrown upon those days by Gogol in his book, often translated into English, called " Taras Bulba."

The Czar Alexis Mikhaylovich was the first who had the honour of gathering the Ukrainians under his rule, although through his reign Ukraine retained her independence. It had been for them a question of choosing one of three allies, the Muscovites, the Poles, or the Turks, and to the eternal regret of the nation they chose the Muscovites. It is suggestive of Russian " continuity of policy " that, when the ambassadors of the Czar went to Perieslav, in the Province of Poltava, to arrange the treaty, which is *still in the Statute-Book of the Russian Empire*, and by which Ukraine was to retain all her rights, political and others, even to the extent of receiving and sending ambassadors of her own, the Muscovite delegates refused to take the oath that Ukrainian independence would be respected by the Czar.*

The conflict between Ukrainians and Muscovites began the first day after the Ukrainians had entered into the compact with Muscovy. They regretted their bargain, and tried to

* The cunning of Russian rulers was never better shown than in the drawing of all Ukrainians, the strong and daring sons of the Cossacks of old, into their fighting forces. To this day, all the best Russian regiments are almost entirely recruited from the Ukraine. Ukrainians are naturally brave, while there are still many Great Russians who believe in the old Muscovite proverb, *Byegstvo Khot niecthestno da zdorovo* (Running away may be dishonourable, but it is good for the health).

Mazeppa.

regain their freedom, with what result we have already seen.

In 1658 the Ukrainians rose against the Muscovites, whom they defeated in 1659. The Poles succeeded in occupying the Ukraine of the Right Bank in 1660, but were obliged to abandon the country four years later. In 1666 the Ukrainians of both banks succeeded in detaching themselves from the Muscovites, but in the following year, by the Peace of Andrussov, the Czar regained the left bank.

In 1709 Mazeppa, so grossly libelled by Russian historians, Ivan Koledinsky Mazeppa, Hetman of the Ukraine, joined forces with Charles XII. of Sweden against the Russians.

When Mazeppa first came to the Dnieper, he found the Ukraine divided, the people of the Left Bank observing their allegiance to the Czar, while those of the Right Bank had shaken off his rule under their Hetman, Doroshenko. Mazeppa threw in his lot with Doroshenko, who made him his Chancellor (Écrivain Général), and in 1674 sent him on a mission to Constantinople, to ask for troops against Russia. He was captured and sent to the Czar at Moscow, but succeeded in convincing him of his innocence, and was set free. Meanwhile Doroshenko had fallen into the Czar's hands, and Mazeppa went to the Hetman of the Left Bank, Samoilovich. The latter being accused of treachery and deposed, Mazeppa was elected Hetman of all Ukraine in 1687. At first he made a show of devotion to the Czar, but his real ambition was to shake off the Muscovite yoke and regain freedom for his country, with himself as its ruler. In 1709, after a quarrel with Peter, he openly joined forces with the King of Sweden. The war proved fatal to the Ukrainians, and Ukraine as a nation was brought to the grave at the Battle of Poltava, 1709, from which a new nation, young once more, is now attempting to rise; for, although the present movement dates from the middle of the last century, its real activity is much more recent. It is decidedly a new nation that is arising.

After Poltava, and Mazeppa's flight into Turkey, all the prominent youth of Ukraine having died or followed the Hetman

into exile, it was easy for the Muscovites to break their word. Seldom do the Russian Government keep their word. One thing they keep, however, ladies and gentlemen, and that is their hatred. The difference between such real Slavs as the Ukrainians, happy, forgiving, unenvious souls, too unenvious and resigned, and the ambitious, domineering, restless, treacherous, but persevering Northern Russians, is nowhere better shown than in this fact that the name of Mazeppa is officially cursed even to-day in Russian churches. I know it is difficult for you to believe it; I know such a monstrous notion is so foreign to your minds that you cannot conceive it easily. But the fact remains. In every Christian Orthodox church of the Russian Empire the name of Mazeppa is publicly cursed by Christian ministers on the first Sunday in Lent, because he fought for his nation against the Czar over two hundred years ago. Together with the name of Arius and other dissenters, the name of Mazeppa is cursed by the priests. One by one their names are given aloud: "Mazeppa — anathema! May the Lord preserve us from his deadly sin!" And the crowd—the ignorant Russian crowd, a crowd that can neither read nor write, a crowd that, if it could read, could only read what the Government allows to be printed, invertebrate history—the crowd repeats after the priest, throwing a curse upon the name of the man who tried to save his country. In the Ukraine itself the Ukrainians have to submit to that ignominy. In fairness to the Russians, I must admit, ladies and gentlemen, that the name of Mazeppa need not be cursed in the churches which he built himself. His name is omitted from the list of the "accursed ones" in the numerous churches that he had erected for his people.

Lord Byron, although he knew no more than what Voltaire had written about Mazeppa, wrote remarkable verses about the Hetman. I am sure the knowledge of the real facts of the case would have roused his generous soul to at least the same degree of enthusiasm as the alleged Greek sufferings. Had he known more of the Ukraine and of the crushing methods of assimilation used by the Russians, the injustice, the brutality,

that have been marking everywhere the Russian dominion over the Ukraine might not have passed without his protest and the protest of the people in this country.

Well, then, after Poltava and Mazeppa's flight, the Russians began to assimilate the Ukraine, in spite of statute-books and solemn treaties.

The Ukrainians did not give up the struggle, but it became more and more hopeless. The position of Hetman was vacant from 1722 till 1727, and when a deputation waited on Peter I., to protest against the encroachments on their freedom, its members were imprisoned. After the death of Peter in 1725, the same policy was carried on by Menschikoff, who ruled in the name of Catherine I. At the accession of Peter II., in 1727, matters became more hopeful. A new Hetman, Daniel Apostol, was elected, and in 1728 an Imperial Ukaz was published, establishing the freedom and self-government of the Ukraine on points laid down by the Hetman. But the young Czar died in 1730, and Daniel Apostol only survived him four years.

After the death of Daniel Apostol, in 1734, the last Hetman of the Ukraine to be elected by the Cossacks themselves, no Hetman was appointed for sixteen years. Then, in 1750, Catherine II. appointed one of her favourites, Cyril Razumovsky, himself a Ukrainian by birth, and a younger brother of Alexis, the favourite of Elizabeth. All the revenues attached to the title of Hetman, and accumulated during the vacancy, were also handed over to Razumovsky. In the year 1764 he attempted to reconstruct the lost kingdom, and sent emissaries to all the Cossack chiefs, asking them to sign a petition to the Empress, requesting her to appoint him hereditary Hetman. The Orloff party, however, were, as usual, vigilant, and intrigue fought intrigue for months, until Razumovsky, seeing no hope of success, resigned his high office.

He was the last Hetman of the Ukraine, and a college (or board) was appointed in his stead, since the Empress found safety in number as against personal intrigue. The head of the college was Count Rumiantsof, whom she sent to Kiev

with the advice, " Show them the teeth of a wolf and the tail of a fox." Complete suppression of the Ukrainian national idea was part of Catherine's policy of national unity.

Some alleged " expert," such as many Governments keep up their sleeve for the purpose of " cooking " facts, brought out the old word " Rusj " from the archives. That word began to be used first as a synonym for Muscovy, then as a purposely vague common name for both Muscovy and the Ukraine. The present form " Roosia " (Russia) was formed artificially from the Greek, and the words " Great Russia " (that is, Muscovy) and " Little Russia," or " Malorussia " (that is, Ukraine), were put into circulation by the Muscovite diplomacy of those days. Gradually the use of the word " Ukraine " was prohibited, and later, towards the last quarter of the nineteenth century, as well as in the first five years of the twentieth century, its use in literature and in poetry, or in a public speech, was regarded as a sure sign of open treason, and punished as such. Of course, the word " Muscovy " was discouraged also, and so were the words " Lithuania " and " Poland." It was hoped everybody would forget his nationality by using the common name of " Russia."

The fact remains, however, that the *true* names of the country and people are *Ukraine* and *Ukrainians.* Nowadays the term " Little Russia " is only applied to Ukraine by Russian Nationalists, who thereby try to persuade themselves that there is really no difference of race and nationality in the south of the Russian Empire, and that the Ukrainians are only a branch of the Muscovite race, if such a race ever existed as such.

The Ukrainian race occupies a territory bigger than that of France—that is, one of the largest national territories in Europe. Russian history being the necessary source of information of English encyclopædias, and the study of Ukrainian literature having been forbidden up to a very few years ago, it is not to be expected that many people in this country should know the true facts of the case. The ancient kingdom of Poland embraced for a time *a part* of that territory—namely, the so-called

"Ukraine of the Right Bank" (of the River Dnieper).* There was also, as we have seen, the "Ukraine of the Left Bank," or "Hetmania," the "New Ukraine" (that is, the present Government of Kharkov), and the "Steppe Ukraine" (*i.e.*, the present Governments of Kherson, Katerinoslav, Tauris, etc.).

When, in 1654, the Ukrainians exchanged the overlordship of the Polish King for that of the Muscovite Czar, they did not at the same time throw off the yoke of Polish oppression, and at the close of the eighteenth century, when the kingdom of Poland had entirely ceased to exist, the Ukrainian peasants under the Polish landowners were even worse off than before, since serfdom—an institution of the Russian State, mark you—imported slavery, gave opportunities for even more cruel oppression than before. A Latin verse of the time is typical:

> "*Clarum regnum Polonorum*
> *Est Cœlum Nobiliorum,*
> *Paradisum Judeorum,*
> *Et Infernum Rusticorum.*"

Were it for nothing else but their brutal and cowardly treatment of the Ukrainians in general in the past, and of those of Galicia in particular in the present, Polish landlords have richly deserved all they suffered themselves at the hands of Prussia and Russia. Stay, they have not suffered. The Polish landlords and noblemen have suffered very little physically. It is the Polish peasant and the Polish student who have had, and still have, to pay for the crimes of their masters' ancestors. Anyone with an ounce of sympathy who reads the appalling tales of Polish cruelty as related by Count Starzensky, himself a Pole, in his "Reminiscences," written about 1840, cannot but be horrified. Ukrainian girls were openly sold for sums that seldom rose above 120 roubles. For every woman killed under the whip Polish landowners received 100 roubles, 400 for a man.

M. W. Antonowicz, Professor at the Kiev University, told the world the history of that Polish nobleman who assaulted

* The Dnieper (Father Dnieper, as the peasants call it, 1,410 miles long) has many rapids in the rocky part of the Ukraine. These rapids, or porogs, have been gradually rendered less dangerous than they were when the Ukraine Cossacks were at the height of their power (*porog*, plural = *porogi*; hence Zaporogian).

138 Ukrainian girls, and of the widow of that other Polish nobleman who had a house built in the thick of a forest, where she had peasant girls and men burnt alive. These facts are history, ladies and gentlemen.

If such terrible events have ceased to take place nowadays, there is no doubt that matters could still be improved easily, even in Galicia. The Polish Governor of that province of the Austrian Empire where the Rutheno-Ukrainians live has very wide powers, and uses them invariably for the benefit of Poles as against Ukrainians. Now that the aged Emperor of

Peasant House in the Ukraine.

Austria has openly recognized the right of the Ukrainians to use the name of their own race, now that they are going to possess a University of their own in Lemberg, let us hope the revival of the Ukraine will proceed at a still faster pace. Oppressed Ukraine and oppressed Poland had much better join hands and throw off the yoke together. *Then* they could settle their differences. United, they *will* succeed. Enemies and disunited, they can but serve the ends of their oppressors. Ere this temporary union for a common need is agreed upon, however, the least I can say is that the Polish landlords will have to mend their ways.

IV

UKRAINIAN LITERATURE

We must realize that the growth of the Ukrainian Nationalist movement is a *natural and gradual process*, similar to the growth of the national sentiment in Italy previous to Garibaldi; and although it is said that the Ukrainian revival of Nationalism in Russia is suggested by Austria, its extension is far too wide to be due to outside causes. The Ukrainian national movement began in Russia at the beginning of the nineteenth century, and has spread gradually to Austria, where, especially in Galicia, it found favourable soil. It is essentially an internal movement, the seeds of which were sown long before our time. The popular narrative poems called "Dumy" kept up the personality of the race, so to speak, from the earliest days of the Ukraine. These poems have been edited many times, in spite of Russian opposition. They are still sung by a few Kobzars, the minstrels of the Ukraine.

Apart from these "Dumy," there is a written literature of the Ukraine which is by no means uninteresting, even if we exclude such writers as Gogol, Russianized in his later years. Gogol, one of the greatest of Russian novelists, is remarkable as having been the first writer to show how the life of the people can be reproduced in literature, and the people of whom he wrote, and with whom he sympathized, were Ukrainians, though the language he used was Russian. The parody of the "Æneid" in the Ukrainian language, by Kotliarevsky, who can be said to have started the literary revival in 1798, still enjoys great popularity. The national poet and painter, Shevchenko, described better than any other man the early days of the Ukraine.

His grave near Kaniov, on the banks of the Dnieper, is to this day a place of pilgrimage for Ukrainians, who cannot forget that Shevchenko's life was brought to an untimely end by the Russians. Shevchenko was sentenced to ten years military service in the Orenburg disciplinary brigade—a terrible punish-

A Blind Kobzar.

ment in those days, ladies and gentlemen—a punishment that broke him, body and soul. For ten years he was allowed neither paper nor ink, and a year after he had completed his sentence he died. What a terrible sentence for an artist, for a painter and a poet, for a man in the prime of life! His

offence? Well, here is the official report: "Shevchenko was actuated by his own vicious tendencies," whatever that may mean, ladies and gentlemen. "He had composed, in the Little Russian tongue, verses of a most abominable character, which might set people dreaming; he had also shown 'boundless impudence.'" After this edifying quotation, which might be humorous if it were not so tragic—for, do not let us forget it, the result of it was ten years in hell—I might be permitted to read one or two of Shevchenko's "abominable" verses:

"Dig my grave and raise my barrow
By the Dnieper-side,
In Ukraine, my own land,
A fair land and wide.
I will lie and watch the cornfields,
Listen through the years
To the river voices roaring,
Roaring in my ears.

"Bury me, be done with me;
Rise and break your chain,
Water your new liberty
With blood for rain.
Then in the mighty family
Of all men free
Maybe sometimes, very softly,
You will think of me." *

Ladies and gentlemen, if these were abominable verses in the eyes of the Muscovite Government, they can never be so

* The translation is by Mrs. Voynich (Elkin Mathews, one shilling net). In spite of serious liberties taken with the original, the few poems of Shevchenko which the volume contains show plainly what influence they can have on the youth of the Ukraine at the present time. I give here a literal translation of the first verse:

"When I am dead, bury me
On a lofty, lonely hillock,
Midst the boundless sea-like steppe,
In my dear Oukraïna;
But so that the wide-unfolding plains,
And the Dnieper and his steep high banks
Are still visible, and that he is heard
As he roars—the Roarer!"

The Dnieper is, of course, very much a real person to the average Slav.

to those of whom it has been said "Britons never shall be slaves." The life of Shevchenko fully bears out the truth of the comment of an English writer that "The history of Russian literature is a martyrology."* Another eminent Ukrainian writer who incurred the displeasure of the Muscovite Government was the historian Kostomarov, who wrote valuable works on the history and early literature of the Ukrainian people. Another, again, was Dragomanov. Formerly Professor at the Kiev University, Dragomanov went to Geneva. He wrote in the Ukrainian language many works of great historical and literary value. Later on he was appointed a Professor of History at the University of Sofia, where he wielded great influence.

Modern Ukrainian writers all use the Ukrainian tongue, especially those of Austria, where no literary restriction is put upon them. The influence of men like Franko† is very great. In Russia, on the contrary, the language was not taught in the schools for centuries, its use was discountenanced, and at times absolutely forbidden, with the result that Little Russians are often found illiterate. They are forced to learn Russian at school, and when they leave school they soon forget it; but have not learnt to read and write in their own tongue, which is so different from Russian proper, or Moscow dialect, that the very alphabet had to be modified. The suppression of the Ukrainian language in Russia had an entirely opposite effect, however, from that which was intended. The tendency for literary emancipation asserted itself more vigorously the more it was repressed—at least, among the more leisured Ukrainians.

There have been literary societies and people's unions founded, political and literary journals and publications called into life, which serve as a positive proof that the Ukrainians have an undaunted spirit, which in the near future will promote a great upheaval. A large number of purely scientific Ukrainian societies have been founded, and are now flourishing.

* "Russian Characteristics," by E. B. Lanin, p. 134.

† Ivan Franko, the foremost living Ukrainian poet of Galicia, author of the famous song "Ne Pora" ("No longer"), which is sung in Galicia as a second Ukrainian anthem

T. Szewczenko

The Ukrainian language is in Russia officially called a "dialect," but can a language be a dialect which is spoken by 33,000,000 people from Galicia and the Northern Carpathians, through Podolia and Volhynia, and the Governments of Kiev,

Ivan Franko.

Tchernihov, Poltava, Kharkov, and the southern part of Voronezh to the Don and the Kuban? Scientific discussions have only emphasized the differences between the two main races of Russia, since no conclusion could be attained, save that they were entirely different from every point of view. Such

conclusions—obvious when the question is approached fairly—could but enhance the Ukrainian cause. Here, ladies and gentlemen, I may perhaps mention the curious fact that a recognized authority on Slavonic languages, a reader at one of the great Universities, Mr. Nevill Forbes, M.A., Ph.D., confessed some time ago that he did not read Ukrainian—that is, the second Slav language in numerical order, the first in purity of origin. He does, however, write* that the Little Russian dialect is not a language distinct from the Muscovite. What is there infectious in the Russian air that causes even Englishmen to become thus biassed when they deal with Russian affairs ?

On the subject of racial differences between Russians and Ukrainians a very authoritative opinion was expressed by the " Académie Impériale des Sciences " of St. Petersburg, who indignantly rejected, from the scientific point of view, all the arguments in favour of the identity of Russians with the Ukrainians. One might talk with precisely the same reason of the identity of Germans with Norwegians, or of Frenchmen with Italians.

It was the religious, national, and social persecution of the Ukrainians that gave rise to the long Cossack war, which shook the very foundations of the Polish Republic. Many representatives of the nobility detached themselves from the people, went over to the Roman Catholic Church, and became nationalized Poles, and this strengthened the contempt of the conquerors for the Ukrainian " peasant nation." But there is not the slightest cause for contempt of the Ukrainian " peasant nation." If any one of you stands in need of a thorough change, and longs for a pleasant holiday, for a simple, healthy life in picturesque surroundings, I could advise no better spot than the Ukrainian part of the Carpathian Mountains. And for studying what some writers persist in calling " Russian life " at its best, you could do no better than go to the Ukrainians of Austria. There at least you will be the guests of a civilized

* " The Position of the Slavonic Languages at the Present Day," Oxford, 1910.

nation, not subjected to the vexatious attentions of the Muscovite bureaucracy. The progress of the Galician oil industry has already brought a good many Englishmen and Scotsmen

A Hutzul Cask: Typical Handicraft of Ukrainians of the Carpathian Districts.

to the Austrian Ukraine. But let us return to the Russian Ukraine.

The revival, which is very marked among its inhabitants, is opposed by the Russian Government with the utmost rigour, and, let me add, with much stupidity. In Austria the Ukrainians

are recognized as forming a separate nation, and the Austrian constitution guarantees them citizens' freedom and the possibility of political activities (organizations) in their national form for the sake of culture and the prosperity of the people. The Russian Ukrainians, on the other hand, are deprived of these rights; they are not recognized as a separate nation; they are forbidden to use their language in the churches or in the schools. In Russia, Ukrainians are regarded as *inorodtzi* only when it is necessary to forbid something that is Ukrainian; but when Ukrainians ask for concessions, the Government tells them that they are one, that they are as much *pyickie* as the great Russians, and need nothing separate and different from the Russian people.

The law passed by the Russian Government in 1876, which forbade the publishing of books in the Ukrainian tongue, was a severe blow to the Ukrainians. The said law was in force until 1905. In spite of the "October Manifesto," the administrative authorities still discourage the free development of the press and education, and even of co-operative associations, and in many cases give no permission to organize such associations, or close the already existing ones, simply because they are Ukrainian, and are thriving well. The subscribers to Ukrainian newspapers, and the members of Ukrainian educational societies, are watched as if they were spies or traitors to the State. Village subscribers can hardly get the Ukrainian papers for which they subscribe or the Ukrainian books which they order. School authorities will not admit a book in Ukrainian to be used in the schools, and the teachers who dare to use the Ukrainian tongue in the school, even where all the children are of Ukrainian parentage, are dismissed. But, in spite of all the persecutions, the Ukrainian press and book output is growing there by leaps and bounds. There are not less than ten newspapers published in the Ukrainian tongue in Russian Ukraine, a good many societies for the publication of books, and every large town and city has a Ukrainian bookshop. The *status quo* will soon be altered, for the national conscience is growing rapidly. Its growth is well attested by the bitter attacks of the Russian

Nationalist Press, which affects to believe that there is "great danger" to Russia in the Ukrainian movement.

In the first Duma there were eighty Ukrainian representatives; in the second Duma, forty-two. Now they are not allowed any representatives there. Liberal (not Progressive) Great Russian members often speak on behalf of the Ukraine. Ukrainians in Russia want autonomy for the Ukraine, with Kiev as capital. As to the educational postulates, Ukrainians demand complete nationalization of public, intermediary, and high schools; official recognition of the Ukrainian tongue in offices, courts, and churches on the Ukrainian territory. At the present time many Ukrainians from Russia are obliged to send their children to the Austrian Ukraine, in order that they may get training in the Ukrainian history, literature, and language, with which there are connected great difficulties. All of them take great interest in the University which will be established in Lemberg shortly.

It is an interesting fact that the Ukrainian movement in Russia took root chiefly among the peasants, the labourers, and the classes that do not hold Government positions. Higher strata are denationalized. All State institutions are hostile towards the Ukrainian movement. The difficulty, ladies and gentlemen, that confronts the Muscovite enmity against the Ukraine revival is that the revival, as we saw, receives great impetus from the neighbourhood of a free part in the Ukraine—that is, Galicia and Bukovina—in the Austrian Empire.

V

THE AUSTRIAN UKRAINE

"RUTHENIAN" is the name applied officially to those of the Ukrainians who are Austrian subjects. They are Christians of course, Orthodox in Bukovina, Uniats in Galicia and Hungary, both situated in Eastern Austria. Eastern Galicia is populated by the Ruthenians, and so is the part adjoining it of the Province of Bukovina. They both touch the Russian frontier in the East, and form a natural continuation of Ukrainian territory in Russia. Western Galicia, with Cracow as its capital, is populated by Poles. There exists a clear line dividing the Ukrainian settlements from the Polish, and there are no mixed districts in Galicia. At present Galicia forms an autonomous land, whose self-government goes so far that it is often said that Austria is rather a triple monarchy than a dual one. The Galician Diet is at the present time in Lemberg, which town is also the capital of the Ukrainian Eastern Galicia, and is situated in the centre of it, although there are many Poles also. There has been more than one project to unite the Ukrainian districts of Galicia and Bukovina into one autonomous province, with a separate Diet in Lemberg, and to establish a new Polish Diet in Cracow for the Polish Galicia. The proposal originated among the Ukrainians, and met with furious opposition from the Poles. The Vienna Government for a long time did not pay much attention to the demand. As far back as 1878, however, a Bill of Partition was signed by the Emperor, but withdrawn, owing to the violent opposition of the Polish Members of Parliament. However, lately there is more tendency to accede to the proposed division of the Province. It must be admitted that,

politically speaking, the Ukrainians in Austria are fairly well treated. They are better treated than in Russia, but there is much to be desired yet. The Government of Galicia is almost entirely in the hands of the big Polish landowners, and the Poles were, up to recently, supported from Vienna. Count Aehrenthal was wise enough a statesman to see the possibilities of the Ruthenian question, and he closely followed its progress. Count Berchtold, his successor, who was Ambassador to the Court of Russia, is no less interested in it.

The Austrian Constitution gives the Ukrainians equal rights with the Poles. The Ukrainian language is one of the eight officially recognized languages of the Austrian Empire (German, Bohemian, Polish, Ukrainian, Italian, Roumanian, Slovene, and Croatic), and it is used in the courts, post-offices, State railways, schools, etc., of the Eastern, or Ukrainian, Galicia and of Bukovina. It is one of the two official languages (Polish and Ukrainian) of the Galician Diet, and the debates of the Deputies are carried on in both languages. The Ukrainian language is also used in the Universities of Lemberg and Czernovitz. At the present time it is proposed—and the proposition has, in spite of the strenuous opposition of the Poles, met with the official approval of Vienna—to establish a separate Ukrainian University in Galicia. When the Emperor addressed three successive letters to the Ukrainian representatives at the Vienna Parliament on the subject of the proposed University, the Polish Press was greatly infuriated thereby. However, it is true that " the Ukrainians are agitating for equal rights with the Poles." We have seen that one of the chief demands of the Ukrainians in Austria is the division of the autonomous Crownland of Galicia into two separate autonomous provinces—Western (Polish) and Eastern (Ukrainian)—with two separate Diets (Cracow and Lemberg), instead of one in Lemberg. Poles are very naturally much opposed to it, as their domination of the Ukrainian part of Galicia brings them great pecuniary and political power in Austria and the world outside, whereas their keeping of the Ukrainians as if in a cage, permits them to advertise Galicia as a Polish province.

The Ukrainians of Austria, described by the French author of a well-known book on the politics of Central Europe—quite unjustifiably described—as a beheaded nation, or as a peasant nation, without any aristocracy or bourgeoisie,* are confronted by two ideas—the National Russian idea and the National Ukrainian idea.

The "Old Ruthenians," who, through being influenced by Russian policy, were called "Muscalophiles," leaned politically towards Russia. Most of them are now dead, and as a party they had already practically ceased to exist ten years ago. Not that they desired to join the Russian Empire—at least, so long as their religious belief was not safeguarded—but they liked to feel that they could rely on Russian influence and Russian power in case of need. The few that are left are among the partisans of Count Bobrinsky, but they had the misfortune to be born after the revival of the Ukraine accentuated itself, and they are considered almost as foreigners by the Young Ruthenians.

The Young Ruthenians of the Ukrainian National party wish to form a separate kingdom, with the Ukrainians of Kiev, Podolia, Poltava, Katerinoslav, and Kharkof.

At the elections of 1908 the Young and Old Ruthenians fought against one another. The Young Ruthenians, or Ukrainian party, obtained twenty-five seats, of which five were in Bukovina; the Old Ruthenians only five, all of them in Galicia. The Young Ruthenians carried the day, because the Ukrainian movement has long since become a dominant factor in the Ukraine. At the elections of 1911, the Old Ruthenians only secured two seats; the Young Ruthenians, or Ukrainian party, twenty-eight. Curiously enough, although the Young Ukrainians have been called by the Old Ruthenians "anti-clerical," and are represented as such by the Russian Nationalists, there was no doubt that they were helped by all the young clergy. Even some Poles belonging to democratic parties are now supporting them.

* While the fact may be comparatively correct concerning Ruthenians or Austrian Ukrainians, it cannot be denied that there is a landed gentry and a rich bourgeoisie of Ukrainian birth in the Ukrainian provinces of Russia.

TYPES OF THE UKRAINE.

Of course, there is no doubt that many important political events will take place shortly in Galicia.

There are difficult times and anxious ahead for both the nations of that Province. Already many able public men have sacrificed their careers, and even their lives. Many more will have to give way to a younger generation with new ideas. As a result of lengthy negotiations, a truce between the Poles and the Ukrainians has been called. It was needed. The cohesion and discipline of the Polish parties, both in the autonomous

Type of the Ukraine.

Diet of Lemberg and at the Reischrath, are now but memories. That cohesion was based on the authority of the nobility. The advent of Polish democracy has helped the Ukraine revival, but for a time, of course, there will be chaos, since the storm comes from two sides. Not only is there antagonism between the Polish and Rutheno-Ukrainian elements, but friction in the Polish camp itself may cause an explosion at any moment. There can be but one result: the division of Galicia into two provinces, eastern and western.

As long as the Polish middle class, the peasants and working-

classes believed in the right of the nobles and clergy to rule the plebeians, the Polish nobility could dictate in Lemberg. Now that they begin to lack support in their own camp, their influence in Vienna diminishes correspondingly.

The Galician of to-day, whether Pole or Ukrainian, is not the same as the Galician of the sixties. Changes have been brought about by universal education, and conscription, the suffrage reform, the general increase of culture, the removal of the Press tax, the democratizing, the Slavicizing of the two nations, the revolution in the rights of possession, the enormous development of the oil industry in the Carpathian districts, and the better equilibrium of the classes. In other Provinces of Austria the transformation took place slowly, in Galicia suddenly. As recently as 1897 barely twenty great landowners were the political and economic masters of Galicia. The Polish nobility could boast once that it alone upheld the loyalist and national ideals. To-day it is not so—at least, not alone. With the increase of the democratic spirit the Ukrainian element has also appeared. It is true they do not admit Neo-Slavism or Pan-Slavism, but they are not anti-Slavs.

The transition stage amongst the Rutheno-Ukrainians is still in progress. Although the growth of their culture cannot be compared to that of the Poles, yet their strength, partly through self-culture, is slowly but surely increasing. They have won for themselves sympathy in the Parliament at Vienna. They will show wisdom if they act tactfully in order not to lose this favour. They were well advised to be moderate in the question of electoral reform. They have, by a diplomatic stroke, thrown the responsibility for the failure of the electoral reform, for the overthrow of the late Governor, and for the dissolution of the Diet, from their own upon the shoulders of the Poles. But their leaders have much to learn yet. If most of the faults of the race are being easily eradicated—lack of self-reliance, drunkenness*—others are not. They must give up the

* All the distilleries are in the hands of the Polish landlords, whose open purpose it is to encourage drunkenness among the Ukrainian peasantry. Which is in accordance with their proverb, "It is better to fish when the waters are troubled."

idea that foreign nations can alone help them. Their present intellectual level, whatever that of their ancestors, is low—about as low as that of the Balkans. They must learn. They must give up their stubborn suspicions of all and everybody. They must invite and welcome the student of international problems, like the Poles do. They must afford more help and information to the world's Press. But, ladies and gentlemen, it is only too easy to tell people what they ought to do. Let us return to facts.

No doubt the Austrian Government hope that the temporary solution given to the problems of electoral reform and of the separate University for the Ukrainians may be the means of drawing the two nations together in closer agreement. But the solutions are both obvious makeshifts, and will not satisfy the Urkrainians for more than two or three years.

For thirty years the Poles and the Ukrainians were bitterly antagonistic, and the few Ukrainians in the House of Representatives were divided. The Poles ruled in the name of the whole Province. To them belonged everything that was not Ukrainian. There was no third party. The Jews, as usual, threw in their lot with the dominating race, and even joined the Polish Club. In Galicia there are 850,000 Jews; in the east of the country—that is, the Ukrainian Galicia—650,000. There they officially make up 30 per cent. of the *Polish* population. Mention was made of a Polish-Christian-Jewish alliance. But here the All-Poles interfered, and, aided by the Church, did their best to weed out the Jewish element. There was a time when the leader of the Polish Club in Vienna could proudly assert: "When I speak, I speak for the whole of Galicia." Now the Ukrainians have appeared in the field. They are a much sought-after article in the Polish market. This fact was not forgotten by the new Governor of Galicia, V. Korytovsky, before and during the elections of June and July, 1913, not for the Vienna Parliament, but for the Galician Diet. His attitude of studied impartiality resulted in greater gains for the Young Ukrainians than the Poles had anticipated. They won thirty-one seats over the Poles. The Old Ruthenians, or Muscalo-

philes, the followers of Count Bobrinsky, have now only one representative in the Lemberg Diet, no doubt because they have practically ceased to exist. Now, the new Diet will settle upon the new basis of election as arranged between Poles and Ukrainians, and a new election will follow shortly.

Of course, the Russians say that the Young Ruthenians are Germanophiles. An independent Ukraine would not benefit Germany. On the contrary, Russia, by maintaining her militaristic and reactionary régime, by crippling industry and discouraging trade, is doing the best possible turn to German ambitions of commercial and territorial expansion. It is also certain that the object of the Young Ruthenians is solely and simply to regain their independence and free their brothers from the oppression of the stupid and cruel (more stupid than cruel) bureaucracy from Petersburg. Ukrainians have, comparatively speaking, less members in the Austrian Parliament than any other nationality in Austria. There has been an improvement, but there is no doubt that, in proportion, they are not represented to the same extent as the other races of the Empire. When they obtain an equal system of representation with the others, the Ukrainians will soon become the most important race in the country.

Both national and social difficulties stand in the way of a rapid solution of the problem of the extension of the franchise to hitherto unenfranchised classes. The national difficulty finds expression in the Ukrainian demand for a temporary compromise on the basis of 30 per cent. mandates at the Lemberg Diet, and a method of election which will guarantee their securing them, which involves a rejection of the proportional system. The Poles are inclined to promise them 26 per cent., and are divided on the question of the guarantee, the Polish democratic party being with the Ukrainians on this point, while the Nationalist party wishes to keep to the system of proportional election.

The social difficulty is in the relation of the number of Deputies representing town constituencies and those representing country constituencies, and the relation of the number

of those to be elected according to the general franchise, and according to the council system (Kurien system).

The Ukrainians in Galicia have a " structural peculiarity "—they consist almost entirely of peasants. There is as yet very little Ruthenian nobility, landed property, or trade—all these elements in Galicia are still largely represented by Poles and Jews. It could therefore not be wondered at if some of the Ruthenian representatives in Parliament had Radicalism, and even Collectivism, as their programme. Socialists—Jews and Poles—know that the national idea is not yet fully awakened in the Ruthenian peasant, and they hope to catch his votes by giving a social colour to what are really racial and national differences.

The Ukrainians are in a state of development. We have had lately examples in the Near East of how quickly a nation can feel its strength and use it, how quickly it grows into a complete organism after vegetating for centuries. There is no doubt that this will also be the case with the Ukrainians, especially those of Austria-Hungary, and then they will themselves welcome the adjustment which they now reject. An abler Ukrainian leadership in the Reischrath, a more frequent use of the " give and take " policy on the part of the Poles, and, against the abuse which the latter make of their authority in Galicia, more firmness shown by the Austrian Government—these are the three elements which are needed in order that the present development ripen fecund in the fruits of civilization.

Since their political and economic rights have been flouted every day by the Poles, the Ukrainians have resorted to obstruction in the Galician Diet. For some years now no business of any importance has been transacted there. At the time of writing (November, 1913), the Ukrainians have carried these methods into the Austrian Reichsrath. There is danger, of course, of the appointment of a Commission of Administration or a military Governorship which would suspend the autonomy of Galicia. Personally, I am convinced that any régime would be better than the present one for the Ukrainians. A perpetual minority is useless in a Diet where there are only two forces present, and the ruling element refuses to give up any of its unjustifiable privileges.

VI

UNIAT AND ORTHODOX CHURCHES

When we come to the religious question, which was that raised in the English Press, we see that there was for some time an Orthodox propaganda going on in Galicia, and there was at first no interference with it on the part of the authorities. It would be a mistake to think, as some people do, that the Austrian Government is in any particular way opposed to the Orthodox religion as such. There is a province in Austria—that of Bukovina—inhabited by Ukrainians and Roumanians, the whole population of which is Orthodox. The Servian Orthodox of Dalmatia are under the jurisdiction of the Orthodox Metropolitan of Bukovina, who is well favoured by the authorities of the Empire. Thus it was only after the discovery that the Orthodox propaganda in Galicia served as a vanguard for the treasonable activity in favour of Russia that the Austrian authorities instituted a watch over it. Two arrests were made amongst Orthodox priests, and the arrests proved beyond doubt that the propaganda was carried on by means of money sent from Russia, and that the object of it was to sow seeds of high treason. These two arrests were the immediate cause of the first letter of Count Bobrinsky to *The Times*.

A writer in the *Oesterreichische Rundschau*, an important Austrian review, concluded thus an important article on the Rutheno-Ukrainian question: "Our monarchy should so arrange their home politics that the Slavs will be able to live in the same way as in their own country. Above all, Austria-Hungary must alter her present policy towards the Ruthenians, because they will otherwise lose the sympathy of one of their most

numerous subject races, and injure their own interests." Politically speaking, one should think how Russia, through uniting the Ukrainians with the Muscovite Great Principality, has become a great Power—one of the most important and perhaps the most dangerous of European States. One only needs to remember the geographical importance of the Ruthenian and Little Russian provinces to realize that this is not only the key to the supremacy from the Baltic to the Black Sea, but also undoubtedly the key to the problem which is raised by the Slav nations of South-Eastern Europe.

In spite of the assertions of a section of the Russian Press, it cannot be said that the Austrian Government have interfered in the religious question. They have done nothing to preserve the Uniats in their faith, and there are no limitations whatever to the Orthodox propaganda, as such, in Austria. Count Bobrinsky's complaint is that Austrian authorities persecute* *the agents of the Russian Government, who, under the guise of Orthodox propaganda,* try to sow the seeds of Russophilism in the neighbouring Austrian province. And if that complaint is well founded, the cause of it is legitimate and unassailable.

The Greek Churches of the Ukraine were reunited with the Holy See at the close of the sixteenth century. I think this religious question ought to be set out somewhat fully, for it is on that side that the attacks against the Ukraine were started in the English Press. Christianity, as we have seen, had been introduced into the country in the year 988, at which date the Greek and Latin Churches were still united. The Metropolitans of the See of Kiev were appointed by the Patriarch of Constantinople, so that the Church in Ukraine became involved in the great schism of 1054. It never, however, made a special secession of its own from Rome.

In 1438 a temporary reunion of the Greek and Latin Churches was effected at the Council of Florence. The Ukrainians were

* The *persecution* usually takes the form of a perfectly justified inquiry as to the religious qualifications of the priests, who are known to be nothing less than Russian agents. When the answer is not satisfactory, these priests are then forbidden to officiate in the villages where they are not qualified to do so.

then represented by Isidore, Metropolitan of Kiev. It was agreed that the Oriental Churches, while acknowledging the supremacy of the Pope, were to keep their ancient rites, since these were derived from those observed by the Church at Constantinople, with the full sanction of the Holy See, for many centuries before the Great Schism. The clergy of the Ukraine welcomed the union, but when Isidore went to plead its cause at Moscow, he found the Muscovites unwilling to accept it, and was imprisoned by the Grand Duke.

The Union of the Ukrainian Church with Rome was not definitely broken off till the time of the marriage of King Alexander of Poland with the daughter of the Muscovite Czar, Ivan III. Ukraine was by this time dominated by Poland, and the Muscovite Czarovna used her influence to have the Ukrainian Sees given to schismatic Bishops. Muscovy was already beginning to covet the Ukraine, and saw in the difference of religion a means of detaching the country from Catholic Poland.

Towards the close of the sixteenth century the Church in Ukraine had lapsed into a state that called aloud for reform of some sort. The various benefices were mostly in the gifts of noblemen who often appointed laymen, relatives of their own, and the people were densely ignorant in religious matters. The definite reunion of the Ukrainian Church with the Church of Rome in 1596 is often said to have been chiefly the work of Jesuits, but the Rev. Sydney F. Smith, in his articles on the subject which appeared in *The Month* for October and November, 1905,* has pointed out that the influence of the society has been greatly exaggerated, and was chiefly of an indirect nature. The Jesuit colleges offering a much better education than could be found elsewhere in Poland and Ukraine, many adherents of the Orthodox faith had their children educated there, and ignorant prejudice against Roman Catholicism was thus dispelled. The pupils of the Jesuits often wished to embrace the Catholic faith, but their instructors, while they could not

* "An Experiment in Corporate Reunion." Father Smith's articles, for which I am indebted for much information concerning the history of the Union, are based on the book by Bishop Likowski, of Posen, on the Union of Brest.

conscientiously refuse to receive them into the Church, were aware—some of them, at any rate—that by doing so they hindered rather than helped the prospect of the union of the Ukrainian Church as a whole with the Holy See.

The demoralized state of their Church caused many of its members to desire a reunion of the Greek and Latin Churches as a means for reform. One of the chief promoters of this idea—the powerful Prince Constantine Ostrogski of Ostrog—was destined later to become the most determined opponent of the Union. He dreamed of a reunion of the whole Greek Church, such as had been arranged at Florence in 1438, and was not contented with the arrangement ultimately adopted, by which the Ukrainian Church alone became reunited. For the present, however, he gave his support to those of the clergy who desired reform.

In 1586 the country was visited by the Patriarch Joachim of Antioch, in 1589 by the Patriarch Jeremias II. of Constantinople. The project of reunion was looked upon with disfavour by them, and when King Sigismund III. of Poland appointed to the vacant Metropolitanate of Kiev Rahosa, who was suspected of being favourable to the Union, Jeremias retaliated by promoting Terlecki, Bishop of Luzk, the most capable of the Ukrainian Bishops, to the dignity of Exarch, which gave him jurisdiction over all the Ukrainian hierarchy, the Archbishop of Kiev included.

During the next seven years the work of reunion was prepared, and finally consummated. The first move was actually made by an unworthy person for an unworthy motive. Balaban, Orthodox Bishop of Lemberg, was annoyed because the Patriarch of Antioch had granted the confraternity of laymen in that city exemption from his episcopal jurisdiction. Purely out of pique, he consulted the Latin Bishop of the same town as to the prospects of reunion, and was advised by him to speak to the newly appointed Exarch.

It is not necessary to trace the course of the movement in detail. Various councils were summoned, and resolutions framed. Rahosa, the Metropolitan, though really in favour of

union, was weak and vacillating, and the chief promoters of the scheme were Terlecki and Pociej, the latter of whom had become an ecclesiastic in 1592, and was appointed Bishop of Vladimir in Volhynia. At an episcopal meeting held at Brest in June, 1595, an address to the Pope (Clement VIII.) was drawn up, in which the desire of the Bishops to return to union with the Church was expressed, and another to the King of Poland, telling him of their design, and asking him to grant them equal political privileges with the Latin Bishops, which would serve to make the Union acceptable to the people at large. The King agreed to their conditions, but at this moment Prince Ostrogski, formerly in favour of the movement, started a lively opposition to it, owing, apparently, to his annoyance at not having been consulted in the matter. Some of the supporters counselled delay, but Pociej and Terlecki chose the more courageous course of going at once to Rome with their plans. Clement VIII. readily agreed to their conditions, which were that the old rites and the use of the Slavonic language might be retained, and that the secular clergy might be allowed to marry; and the formal Act of Reconciliation was performed on December 23, 1595.

On their return home in March, 1596, Terlecki and Pociej had to encounter the bitter opposition of Ostrogski, who misrepresented the Union and the Uniat Bishops in every possible way, explaining his change of front by saying that no Union could be sound unless the whole Eastern Church took part in it. The Bishops were supported by the Polish King, who was, however, unable to carry out his promise of giving them equality of civil rights with the Latin Bishops, owing to the opposition of his Senate.

The Union was ratified at Brest, October 9, 1596; but opposition to it was never given up. The peasantry were mostly favourable to it, and so were the clergy until they had been gained over, often by trivial misrepresentations; but the middle classes in the towns opposed the Union, owing to the influence of the schismatic lay confraternities. The nobility as a whole, however, were in favour, no fewer than thirty-four of them

declaring for it in 1598, and fifteen more in 1603. But the influence of Ostrogski made itself more and more felt, and he was for ever trying to cause the deposition of the Uniat Bishops by influencing the members of the Provincial Diets. The great champion of the Union was Pociej, who had become Metropolitan of Kiev on the death of Rahosa in 1599. His former secular position gave him a place in the Senate of the Polish Reichstag, and he was untiring in his advocacy of the cause. He died in 1613, having survived his great adversary by four years, and had the satisfaction of seeing the opening of a short period of comparative prosperity for the Uniat Church.

But in 1620 a visit of Theophan, Orthodox Patriarch of Jerusalem, to Kiev was made the occasion of a sort of *coup d'état* by which the Orthodox hierarchy was re-established and the Uniat deposed. Iov Boretski, a champion of Orthodoxy, was made Metropolitan of Kiev. The great champion of the Union at this period was the Bishop of Polotsk, Josaphat Kuntsevicz, a Basilian monk who had reformed his Order and made many converts to the Union among the people. Boretski sent the learned scholar Meletius Smotrytzki to combat his influence, but he was forestalled by more fanatical enemies of Kuntsevicz, who had the Bishop murdered by hired assassins at Vitebsk in 1623. Shortly afterwards the cause of the Union achieved a triumph by the conversion of Smotrytzki himself.

When the Ukraine had fallen into the power of Muscovy, the Uniat Church suffered from the attempts of the Czars to unite all the heterogeneous elements of their Empire into one "nationality." Peter the Great, indeed, being anxious to gain and keep the support of the Holy See, avoided persecuting the Uniats, although on one occasion, when visiting the Cathedral of Polotsk, he noticed a statue of the martyred saint, Josaphat,* and on asking one of the Basilian monks who were showing him round the cathedral how he had met his death, and being told that schismatics had murdered him, he killed the monk in a fit of rage, and let his followers kill four others. He afterwards

* Josaphat Kuntsevicz was canonized later by Pope Pius IX., but at this time was already the object of a local cult.

declared himself contrite for the crime, and promised to protect the Union; but his aim was still merely to conciliate the Pope.

The most determined and at the same time the subtlest enemy of the Uniat Church was Catherine II. At the time of the first partition of Poland (1772) the Uniats in the annexed provinces numbered 800,000. The Empress decreed that in future there should be only one Uniat diocese for the whole Empire, that of Polotsk being chosen. Proselytism was strictly forbidden, and lay courts of appeal were substituted for ecclesiasticity to put the Church more into the civil power. The Papal Nuncio at Warsaw, Monsignore Garampi, sent a Knight of Malta to St. Petersburg to plead the cause of the Union in 1775, but he was unsuccessful. Five years later the See of Polotsk having become vacant, Catherine set up a consistory of three assessors to govern the diocese, and did not appoint another Bishop till 1791, in spite of protests from the Pope. The position of the Uniats became more and more hopeless during the last years of the great Empress's reign. To bring them to Orthodoxy was necessarily a part of her policy of "national unity." The Pope was about to send a representative to her, when her sudden death put a stop to negotiations for the time being.* The new Czar, Paul I., was favourable to Catholicism and to a general reunion of the Greek and Latin Churches, but he looked on the Union as a hybrid institution, and its prospects did not improve so much as might perhaps have been hoped, though the efforts of the Papal Ambassador, Monseignor Litta, secured the restoration of three dioceses to the Uniats.

Alexander I. (succeeded 1801) enacted measures which appeared to be beneficial to the Union, and were perhaps sincerely meant to be so, but which ultimately led to a great defection in 1839. The complaints of the Uniat Bishop of Polotsk, Lissowski, that the Catholics had drawn thousands of Uniats to their own rite, and that the Uniats had not a single seat in the newly founded (Catholic) Ecclesiastical College in St. Petersburg, were laid before Monsignore Arezzo, the Papal

* Pierling, "La Russie et le Saint Siège," tome v., book i., chap. i., sections 2 and 5.

representative, and also before the Minister of the Interior, Kotchoubei, by the Bishop's emissary, Krassinski. The result was an Imperial Ukase of liberty for the Uniats, who then demanded the restoration of their churches, which had been confiscated by the Orthodox party. This demand was also favourably received, but when the further demand for their admission into the Ecclesiastical College was made, Kotchoubei sent for Lewinski, Bishop of Luzk, a more competent person than Krassinski, and proposed that the Uniats should have a separate college from the Catholics, which should be under the dependence of the Orthodox Synod. However, it was ultimately agreed that the Uniats should form part of the same college with the Catholics. The five articles drawn up for the constitution of the college were mostly favourable to the Uniats; but Monsignore Arezzo rightly distrusted the fourth, which gave the right to negotiate directly with the Senate. Through its means a defection of the hierarchy was eventually brought about.*

Under Nicholas I. open persecution of the Uniats recommenced. "Populations of entire villages which refused to admit the nuptial benediction of Orthodox priests were deported to Siberia.†" Forced conversions were carried out on a large scale, and in 1839 the Synod of the Uniat Church was weak enough to frame a resolution stating its willingness to return to Orthodoxy. Thereupon "a million and a half Uniats were forcibly converted in a body, and more than 2,000 churches were taken from them."‡ The Czar celebrated the occasion by having a medal struck, with the inscription, "*Separated in* 1593 *by hate ; reunited in* 1839 *by love*," the irony of which, already sufficiently obvious to anyone acquainted with the facts, became even more apparent when, immediately after the publication of the Decree of April 17, 1905, great numbers of the forcibly converted embraced the Roman Catholic faith, since the Uniat persuasion remains forbidden.

At the present day the great stronghold of the Uniat Church

* *Op. cit.*, tome v., book iii., chap. i., section 5.

† F. H. Skrine, "The Expansion of Russia," p. 123.

‡ "The Cambridge Modern History," vol. x., chap. xiii., p.425.

is in Galicia. Ruthenian Uniats, who numbered not quite 2,000,000 at the time of the Congress of Vienna, have now increased to more than double that number. They recognize the Pope, but they use the Greek Liturgy by special permit, translated into the old Slavonic language. At the present time no Uniat priest is allowed to visit Russia. If it is stated on his passport that he is a Uniat priest, he will not be allowed to enter the Empire, even if his purpose is merely to visit friends or relatives.

VII

RUSSIAN ACTIVITY IN GALICIA.

The Russians, ladies and gentlemen, are very thorough. They have, if you allow me the expression, *bagged* the Ukraine—*bagged* its history, and now they call the ancient capital of the Ukraine, Kiev, the cradle of Russia! The cradle of the Russian Empire! Of other methods they use against their subject nations I may mention one or two. They spread reports that the Ruthenians are Russians! But, as we know now, the Ruthenians are Ukrainians; they say that they were separated from the bulk of their fellow countrymen by what has been described as "the accident of the two Feudal Principalities of Halich and Volhynia having fallen to Lithuania," which, in turn, was united to Poland.

The Ukrainians of Galicia were never one race with the Muscovites, and it was no "accident" that the Principalities of Halich—this word gave place to the name "Galicia," which is in the Ukrainian language "Halichina"—and Volhynia fell to Lithuania. Galicia being a province of a more civilized State, is better known in England. But it would take me many hours to unravel the intricacies of the Polish and Ukrainian difficulties in the Diet of Lemberg. I can at least refute the allegations of a few misinformed men. Horrible details are given by these journalists of alleged persecution to which those of the Ruthenians who have joined the Orthodox Church are subjected by the Poles under the tolerant Austrian Constitution. It is true, unfortunately, that Poles have little sympathy for the Rutheno-Ukrainians; but, even if they wished it, they would not be allowed by the Austrian Government to persecute the

Ukrainians as they did in the past. The survey of the question as published in Russian Nationalist papers is so opposed to facts that it hardly calls for refutation. It would be about as true to say that England was a part of the French kingdom 300 years ago as to repeat their argument that the Ukraine was part of Russia before the seventeenth century. When they discuss the racial problem, they play on the similarity of the words

Ukrainian Family in the Kiev Country.

"Roosini" and "Rossianin," and nobody but an ignoramus would take their contention seriously. Nor do words of abuse prove anything. It proves nothing to speak of "Mazeppanite plans for the breaking up of Russia," of "universal Judaism," of "secret intrigues of the Vatican," of "underhand methods of the depraved Vienna Government." The Russian Government are not so particular themselves about the use of intrigue. *A few months ago Count V. Bobrinsky was summoned before an*

Austrian court of justice for inciting revolt, and for insults to the Emperor. He failed to appear to answer the charge, fled the country, and, of course, dare not return. There was so much money at his disposal—sent, of course, from Russia—that no doubt the temptation was very strong, wherever he passed, for the people to take his money and cause trouble to the Government. There was some time ago a question in the Duma by a member, M. Bulat, addressed to the late M. Stolypin. He insisted upon knowing how the Government had spent 750,000 roubles out of the funds for the purpose of carrying on Russian propaganda in Galicia in the short space of two years. No answer was proffered. Count Bobrinsky ran a paper in Galicia, written by Russians from Moscow and Petersburg, and treason was openly sown by his agents. Since his expulsion there is less money distributed, and the Russian " patriotism " of the few renegades who had given up their religion to take up the Russian Church has greatly cooled down. Count Bobrinsky now devotes himself to the Ukrainian question in Russia. It will, of course, be easier for him to succeed there, because he has the Government behind him, and need not fear expulsion from his own country. On the contrary, he is hailed by the *Novoie Vremya* as the first Russian Imperialist and saviour of his country ; but no great Imperialists ever based their work on deliberate falsehood and hatred of weaker nations.

The chief source of information on Ukraine affairs is mostly the Russian Press itself. The latter speaks persistently of the Ukrainian question, and is filled with vague rumours as to the late Baron von Aehrenthal, Count Berchtold, and the Archduke Francis Ferdinand. The *Novoie Vremya* prints day after day remarks insulting to Austria, but the alarm of Russia only serves to advertise the Ukrainian cause. It is to be feared, however, that unheard-of repressions may be inaugurated any day by St. Petersburg.

No doubt the Austrian Government are eagerly watching the march of events, and, considering the latest developments, we may think that they actually begin to look with favour upon

the movement. The Ukrainian movement, however, is neither pro-Austrian nor pro-Russian; it is pro-Ukrainian. To-morrow the Russian Government may become more enlightened, although there is little hope for that in the immediate future, and they may find out that there is much more political wisdom in supporting the Ukrainian movement, thus creating a pro-Russian feeling in Austrian Ukraine, than in repressing it, thus alienating their own subjects up to the present time loyal. The importance of the Ukrainian Nationalist movement lies in the fact that a people of almost 36,000,000 souls is claiming its right to exist free from any foreign domination. This people have their own culture, their own history, their own language, literature, and customs. They want to be their own masters, instead of filling the pockets of Russians and Poles.

VIII

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, ladies and gentlemen, I should point out to you that, while England has understood and condemned Russian treatment of Jews, Georgians, Finns, and other subject races, we have never appreciated in this country the extent to which the Ukrainians have been oppressed. There is some excuse for the former, but for the latter none at all. Finns, Jews, and even Georgians have their advocates in this country. The Finns, who are by race nearer the Muscovite, occupy by an accident, regrettable but real, territory which is much too near St. Petersburg for them to be allowed to have their own way. The Jews do not "belong" to the country; the Georgians, Letts, and others are in small numbers. But the Ukrainians of Russia are 30,000,000, and their hardships no less than those endured by others. They lack the spirit of organization which might bring their cause before Europe. They are even somewhat badly represented abroad. But with a little encouragement from the Great Powers they will certainly be able to place their case before every Government and before the public.

Of course, since the Decree of October 17, 1905, a Decree which extended slightly the liberties of the subject races of the Russian Empire, the Ukrainians of Russia have benefited just as the other parts of Russia did by the slight improvement in the general condition of affairs, but there is still very, very much to be desired. Moreover, the Russian Government see without pleasure the very real revival of the Ukraine under the present régime of semi-tolerance, and may revert to the old

system any day. One moment of weakness on the part of Russia or of Austria would probably mean much to the Ukrainians, and as long as that question is not settled there can never be, in spite of all newspaper reports, any sincere agreement between Russia and Austria.

That there is weakness at St. Petersburg is clearly proved by the alarm caused in the capital by the rumours of Ukrainian activity, but there is no doubt that the attitude of the Russian Press in promoting the scare by extravagant articles had been inspired by a desire to stimulate the Government to adopt savage, repressive measures against the movement. There are already too many signs that the Russian bureaucracy and the all-permeating police are lending an eager ear to any rumour that can give support to the attacks of the Press. But, after all, the Russian Press cannot compare for sincerity and clear sight with the Press of this country, although it may have much in common with that of the Levant. To consider their attacks and insinuations as weighty would be to court disappointment. Yet the frame of mind with which they approach the question is significant enough, and but for the conscientious feeling that nothing but harm would befall the Ukraine as a result, there are several men in this country who could tell many a tragic or sordid tale of Russian persecution.

The same consideration has curbed my pen more than once in the course of the writing of this paper. My feelings cannot prevent me, however, from appreciating the possibility that, unless the Ukraine succeeds in regaining her independence, we shall suffer much in the days to come from Russian ambition and lack of good faith. The oppression of the Ukraine stands in the way of a union of all Slav races. A Confederation within the Russian Empire on the form of the Dual Monarchy is not likely to happen. Is it not the ardent wish of all those who are alive to the necessity of peace and good-will between all races that no strong instrument of aggression be left in the hands of the unscrupulous and the barbarous? When the Ukrainians receive their due, either in the form of complete independence or of the grant of a large measure of autonomy, the

union of all the Slav races will be more within the bounds of possibility. From the point of view of European peace, the union of the Slav nations is not a danger, since it could be nothing more than an instrument of defence. The world need not fear that any man will ever be able to induce the various Slav nations to sink their differences and forget their own interests in order to lend to the leader of one of them their armies as a means of aggression. With regard to Germany, so long as the Slav nations oppress each other and quarrel among themselves, they are affording aid to German expansion. Once the Ukraine is emancipated, she will prove a strong force in maintaining the at present somewhat unstable equilibrium of Europe.

From the geographical, commercial, and strategical point of view, the future of the Ukraine is a problem of paramount importance to Russia, to Europe especially, to the future of Turkey, and consequently to the British Empire. The commercial cities on the Black Sea, including Odessa, are increasing their trade every day. They are an important, almost an indispensable, outlet for Russian exports. But the Ukraine controls the Black Sea. The Russian fleet in the Black Sea is almost entirely manned by Ukrainians. The Potemkin mutineers of 1906-07 were all Ukrainians, and conscious of their nationality and patriotic aspirations, not mere rebels against discipline, as the Russian Press described them.

A glance at any map of the Near East will show how the importance of every question of the European and Asiatic problems of the day is linked to a certain degree to the Ukraine question. The future of Armenia and the free passage of the Dardanelles are the two most important ones to England. Unless we impose a return to the old policy on Eastern affairs and cease to support indiscriminately a Government that cannot deal decently by their subject races, it is there that we shall pay the penalty.

SOME OF THE NAMES USED FOR THE UKRAINIANS.

Malorussians.
South Russians.
Little Russians.
Yugoruss.
Roosini or Rusniaks (as opposed to Rossianin).
Ruthens.
Ruthenians.
Galicians.
Hutzuls (Highlanders in the Carpathians).
Bukovinians.
Lvovians.

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* Owing to the official ignorance of the Ukraine as such, the compiling of this bibliography, however faulty and incomplete it may be, has presented much difficulty. The author will be glad to receive communications on the subject. Many books on Russia have been purposely omitted as being out of date or inaccurate. For the benefit of students the Press Mark of the British Museum Catalogue has been given when possible.

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